DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 279 194 FL 016 502

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TITLE Steering Clear: Avoidance in the Production of Idioms.
PUB DATE Mar 86
NOTE 22p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages (Anaheim, CA, March 3-6, 1986).
PUB TYPE Reports - Research/Technical (143) -- Speeches/Conference Papers (150)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC01 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Bilingual Students; *Code Switching (Language); Communication Skills; Correlation; *English (Second Language); Expressive Language; *Idioms; Interference (Language); *Language Fluency; *Language Usage; Second Language Learning; Semantics; Spanish Speaking; Translation
IDENTIFIERS *Avoidance Behavior; Paraphrase

ABSTRACT

A study of advanced English learners' use or avoidance of English idioms is described. The investigation looked at whether the subjects would attempt to use English idioms in a translation task containing idioms, or would instead use non-idiomatic synonyms or paraphrase. It also looked at which idioms are used and which are avoided: those that are identical to idioms in the first language, those that are different, those that are commonly used, or those that are semantically transparent. The subjects were 12 bilingual Spanish/English speakers who had learned English as a second language as adults but whose conversation showed very few grammatical or lexical errors. The results showed that the best-known English idioms were the ones with identical Spanish equivalents, and the least known were totally different in the two languages. There was no correlation between idioms produced the most and frequency of general use. Semantic transparency appears not to be as important as similarity to a first-language idiom. The study does not measure the use of the idioms in normal conversation, cannot measure the number of idioms known or unknown, and does not distinguish between true avoidance representing choice of usage and apparent avoidance due to lack of knowledge. The relationship of avoidance and communication strategies and the study's implications for teaching idioms are also discussed. (MSE)

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ED279194

STEERING CLEAR: AVOIDANCE IN THE PRODUCTION OF IDIOMS

Suzanne Irujo

Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages (March 3-6, 1986, Anaheim, CA)

FL016502

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Paper presented at TESOL '86, Anaheim

STEERING CLEAR: AVOIDANCE IN THE PRODUCTION OF IDIOMS

Introduction

The study of avoidance as a linguistic phenomenon is of fairly recent origin. Schachter (1974) and Kleinmann (1977) demonstrated that learners from specific first language backgrounds tend to avoid certain syntactic structures in English. The notion of avoidance as a communication strategy was developed by Elaine Tarone in a series of papers (Tarone, Cohen & Dumas 1976; Tarone 1977, 1980, 1981). Although several studies have looked at the use of communication strategies in lexical acquisition (Bialystock & Frohlich 1980; Paribakht 1985; Poulisse, Bongaerts & Kellerman 1985, among others), none has looked at avoidance in the use of idioms.

Many second language teachers would agree with the idea that even our most advanced students tend to avoid using idioms. Because idioms don't literally mean what they say (in other words, their meaning cannot be ascertained from the sum of the words which make them up), students often appear to be afraid of not getting them exactly right, and so presumably avoid using them.

Much of the evidence for the belief that idioms are avoided is observational or indirect, since it is impossible to get naturalistic data of people not using idioms. One indirect indicator of idiom avoidance is the belief that idioms are considered by learners to be language-specific, and therefore not transferable to a second language. Evidence for this is found in the fact that idioms are not usually present in the simplified

language addressed to learners ("foreigner talk") (Henzl 1973). Kellerman (1983) also cites as evidence his informal corpus that indicates that when non-native speakers use idioms that have native language equivalents, they "frame" them by announcing them as figures of speech. In two experimental studies done in the Netherlands, both Jordens (1977) and Kellerman (1977) found that when idioms had first language equivalents, learners tended to judge them as ungrammatical, thus indicating a reluctance to transfer them to the second language. More advanced students, however, used their acquired knowledge of English to make judgments.

Some experimental evidence for avoidance of idiomatic expressions does exist. Dagut and Laufer (1985) used a multiple choice test, a verb translation test, and a verb memorization test to show that their Hebrew-speaking subjects avoided two-word phrasal verbs, preferring to use one-word equivalents instead. In addition, the percentage of figurative phrasal verbs was much lower than the percentage of literal phrasal verbs on all three tests. Dagut and Laufer attribute this avoidance phenomenon to the fact that the Hebrew language does not have anything corresponding to the English "particle", which, with the verb, makes up a phrasal verb. They do not discuss why figurative expressions were avoided more than literal ones.

We cannot attribute the avoidance of phrasal idioms to the lack of a corresponding structure in the first language; as far as we know, all languages have idioms. Indeed, when languages share a common linguistic and cultural ancestry, there are often idioms that are identical across languages. Previous research of mine (Irujo 1986b) used idioms that were identical, similar, and totally different in Spanish and English to investigate when

positive transfer occurred and when negative transfer or interference occurred. When asked to supply an English idiom appropriate to a given context, advanced L2 learners made use of their knowledge of idioms in their first language by successfully transferring many idioms that were identical in both languages, and also unsuccessfully attempting to transfer many non-identical idioms. That study did not look at avoidance, however; subjects had been asked to use an idiom and were not given the option of using one or not. This study extends that research to investigate under what circumstances avoidance occurs in the production of idioms.

The question being addressed in this study is whether very advanced second language speakers, given a translation task containing idioms, would attempt to use English idioms, or would instead use non-idiomatic synonyms or paraphrase, thus avoiding idioms. In addition, the study looks at which particular idioms are used and which are avoided. Do subjects use those idioms that are identical to idioms in their first language and avoid different idioms? What do they do with idioms that are similar? Are the idioms that they use the ones that are most commonly used in English? Do they tend to use idioms that are semantically transparent, i.e., whose meaning can be figured out even if it is not known?

Method

The subjects for the study were twelve bilingual speakers of Spanish and English. All had learned English as a second language as adults and were proficient enough so that very few grammatical or lexical errors were apparent in their everyday conversation, although many of them had noticeable Spanish accents. They were all professionals living and working in an English-speaking

environment.

The materials used were 45 paragraphs in Spanish, each containing an idiom. Fifteen of these idioms had identical English equivalents, fifteen had English equivalents that were very similar, and fifteen were toally different in English and Spanish, although they had equivalent meanings. These were the same paragraphs that had been used in my previous study, where the passage was given in Spanish and English, with the idiom omitted in English; subjects were then asked to supply the English idiom which they would used in that situation. The English paragraphs had been field tested with native speakers of English to be sure that they elicited the expected idiom.

Subjects were asked to translate each paragraph into normal, everyday conversational English; they had no dictionaries available and were not allowed to ask any questions about the paragraphs. Nothing was said about idioms, but it very quickly became obvious to them that each paragraph contained an idiom.

Hypotheses

The hypotheses for the study were as follows:

1) Advanced learners of English would not avoid all idioms; they would use their knowledge of English to produce many idioms. This hypothesis is based on Kellerman (1977), where the more advanced subjects used their acquired knowledge of English to make grammaticality judgments about language-specific items, and on my previous study (Irujo 1986b).

2) The idioms used the most would be those which have identical equivalents in the learners' first language. This is based on my previous research (Irujo 1986b), where there was evidence of positive transfer for identical idioms, and on Kellerman (1984), where he states that learners need only minimal

kinds of positive evidence in order to learn idioms which have identical first language equivalents.

3) Subjects would use idioms which are more frequent in everyday conversation and which are semantically transparent. They would avoid idioms which are colloquial or "colorful". The evidence for the use of frequent idioms comes from subjective analysis of idioms produced most frequently in Irujo (1986b). The evidence for semantic transparency comes from Kellerman (1983), who suggests that the greater the mismatch between the literal and figurative meanings of an idiomatic expression (in other words, the more opaque and the less transparent an idiom is), the greater the liklihood that the progress of a first language idiom into the second language will be blocked. Highly colloquial idioms will probably not be used because, as Yorio (1980) suggests, they don't sound right when used by non-native speakers, and may therefore interrupt the flow of communication.

Coding

The first step in the analysis of the data was coding the responses. Table 1 contains examples of the scoring categories. When an idiom was used, it could be the same as the expected equivalent, a different idiom which meant the same thing, or an incorrect idiom because of errors of form or of meaning. The three examples of idioms that are the same as the expected idiom include one identical, one similar, and one different. An example of an idiom identical in meaning and form in both languages is the black sheep of the family (la oveja negra de la familia); to put your foot in your mouth and meter la pata ("to put in the leg") are very similar in the two languages; and two idioms which have identical meanings but totally different forms are to pull someone's leg and tomarle a uno el pelo ("to take someone's

hair"). The equivalent English and Spanish idioms had been chosen for my previous research (Irujo 1986b), using my own knowledge of English and Spanish idioms as well as idiom dictionaries such as Barron's 2001 Spanish and English Idioms (Savaiano and Winget 1976). In spite of extensive field testing before the idioms were used in my previous research, there remained problems, both in determining when two idioms were equivalent, and in deciding whether they were identical, similar or different. For example, to put two and two together was determined to be equivalent to atar cabos ("to tie ends") on the basis of my own intuitions, idiom dictionaries, and field testing which included having native speakers write definitions of the idioms. While no problems appeared in the pilot testing, both the previous study and this one showed that subjects were confusing atar cabos with cabos sueltos ("loose ends"); this made the scoring more difficult. An example of problems in classifying idioms as identical, similar or different is the classification of to hold one's tongue as similar to its Spanish equivalent morder la lengua ("to bite the tongue"). Although the problem was not apparent during field testing, it later appeared that for many English speakers, to hold your tongue and to bite your tongue are equivalent, thus making the idioms identical in Spanish and English. In spite of these problems, no changes were made in the idioms used or in the categorizations in order to be able to make comparisons between my previous results and this study.

In many cases, there are several English idioms which are equivalent to a given idiom in Spanish. Therefore, idioms which were different from my chosen equivalent, but conveyed the same meaning, were also considered correct. For example, he's losing his marbles means the same as he has a screw loose.

Idioms which are incorrect because of errors of form may be translations from the Spanish idiom, such as "to kill two birds with one shot" from the Spanish matar dos pajaros de un tiro, or they may be confusions within the English form, such as "my hands are tight" or "to sleep over it." An example of an idiom which was incorrect because the meaning did not correspond to the meaning of the Spanish idiom is "hit the spot"; the Spanish idiom was dar en el clavo ("to hit/give on the nail") and the expected English equivalent was to hit the nail on the head.

When non-idiomatic expressions were used, they could be either a literal paraphrase of the idiom, a figurative expression which was not a conventionalized idiom, or an expression which was incorrect because of form or meaning. A literal paraphrase could be either a one-word synonym such as "die" for to kick the bucket or a phrase such as "he felt very relieved" for that took a load off his mind. Figurative expressions included things such as "he screamed his head off" for he threw a fit. In a very few cases, a literal or figurative phrase was incorrect because of form; an example is the substitution of the word "crash" for the word "cram" as a translation of quemarse las pestanas ("to burn one's eyelashes"; the expected English equivalent was to burn the midnight oil). The fact that there were very few errors of this type is a reflection of the high level of English proficiency of the subjects. There were very few mistakes in the translations except these few that occurred within idioms. Literal or figurative phrases could also be incorrect because their meaning was not the same as the idiom; for example, "celebrate it" does not mean the same as the expected idiom to make a killing.

There were several categories for untranslated idioms. In some cases, the idiom was omitted from the translation of the

paragraph, but the complete meaning of the paragraph was given, and it was not apparent that anything was missing. This was possible because the paragraphs had been made highly redundant in order to try to elicit a specific idiom. In other cases, the idiom was not translated, and there was a blank left in the translation; it was obvious that something was missing. In a few cases, no translation at all was attempted, in spite of instructions to the subjects to complete all items in any way they could.

Results

Table 2 contains a list of the idioms used in the study, with the number of responses in each category for each idiom. In some cases, a particular idiom may have more than twelve responses because some subjects provided alternate translations for the same idiom, either two different idioms, or an idiom and a literal or figurative expression.

The most obvious result, looking at the percentages in Table 1, is that subjects are not avoiding idioms. In two-thirds of the translations in the study, they attempted to use an idiom. (If we add the percentage of figurative expressions produced, on the assumption that subjects might not be able to distinguish idioms from figurative expressions, the percentage becomes 75% for attempted idiom production. This is clearly not avoidance.) Furthermore, subjects produced a correct idiom in 59% of the cases, showing a high degree of knowledge of English idioms. When idioms were not produced, the most common substitute was a literal synonym or paraphrase.

Looking at the different categories of idioms, it is apparent that identical idioms are much easier to produce than similar or different idioms. This is not surprising, but it does provide

further evidence that proficient speakers of a second language use their first language to produce idioms. Similar idioms provide the most opportunity for interference from the first language; almost all of the fourteen cases of incorrect form are due to literal translation of the Spanish idiom, in most cases a similar idiom. This finding agrees with the results of my previous study (Irujo 1986b). For different idioms, there were slightly more correct idioms produced that were not the expected English equivalent than idioms that were the same as what was expected. Again, this is not surprising, since there is nothing in the forms of the Spanish and English idioms to make them equivalent. If there are two English idioms with the same meaning, either will be just as acceptable as an equivalent of the Spanish idiom.

Correlations were done to test the relationships between the idioms which were correctly produced most often and the type of idiom, frequency of use, and semantic transparency. Type of idiom refers to the categories of identical, similar, and different used in my previous study (Irujo 1986b). Frequency of use was determined by asking native speakers to rate each idiom on a scale of 1 - 5, from "never used" to "used very frequently." Semantic transparency was determined by asking native speakers to pretend they had never heard the idioms, and having them rate each idiom as to how difficult it would be to figure out the meaning. A 1 - 5 scale was also used, with 1 signifying that it would be impossible to figure out the meaning, and 5 signifying that it would be obvious what the idiom meant even if it were totally unknown.

For type of idiom, the relationship was very strong ($r = .70$, $p < .01$). The best known idioms were those that had identical Spanish equivalents, and the least known were totally different in

English and Spanish. There was no relationship at all between idioms produced the most and frequency of use (r = .01). Some well-known idioms were also very commonly used; others were not, and some frequently used idioms were not well known. The relationship between best known idioms and semantic transparency was not very strong, but it was there (r = .22, p approaching .05). There is a tendency for the idioms which can be figured out without knowing them to be better known. These correlations indicate that degree of similarity to a native language idiom may be the most important factor in learning an English idiom. Frequency of use, which should be some indication of how often a learner encounters an idiom, appears to make no difference at all. Semantic transparency may make an idiom slightly easier to learn, but this factor is not nearly as important as similarity to a first language idiom. These factors seem to account for which idioms are produced more than degree of colloquialism, although no correlations were done because no attempt had been made to measure degree of colloquialism. Some highly colloquial idioms (as determined by my own subjective judgment) were known by all of the subjects (the black sheep of the family, a needle in a haystack), while others were known by only one (stick to your guns, that takes the cake). The idiom which I consider to be the most colloquial of the 45 used here is kick the bucket. I have never heard it uttered by a native speaker except as a linguistic example, yet it was known by half of the subjects in this study.

We must be careful not to assume, however, that because the subjects were able to produce these idioms on a translation task, that they would use them in normal conversation. These results indicate that the subjects know more idioms than might have been expected, and they did not avoid using them on a task where it was

obvious to them that an idiom was expected. However, they still might hesitate to use the more colloquial idioms, as well as any others that they are not sure of, for fear of sounding silly.

It is interesting to compare these results with the results of my previous study (Irujo 1986b), even though a complete comparison cannot be made because of differenes in scoring categories. These subjects were much more proficient than my previous subjects, who were college students with TOEFL scores ranging from 520 to 620. The subjects of this study were professionals whose language was virtually indistinguishable from a native speakers' except for accent and very occasional misuse of prepositions, irregular verb forms, or vocabulary.

The most noticeable comparison is that the less proficient subjects did just as well as the fluent bilinguals on identical idioms, and almost as well on similar idioms. The produced only about half as many different idioms, however. They also had much more interference from Spanish; this was mostly on similar idioms, but also occurred on different ones. They left more blanks than the fluent bilinguals, and they used very few non-idiomatic expressions, either literal or figurative.

It appears that transfer from their first language is the strategy which the less proficient learners are relying on the most when they don't know an idiom. This would explain why they did just as well as the fluent bilinguals on identical idioms; they may not have known the correct idioms in English, but the transfer strategy which they were using produced a correct response. The more proficient learners were able to use more paraphrase because of their greater command of English.

Because of the different nature of the tasks involved (the less proficient subjects had been told to use an idiom, which

would make them less likely to try to use paraphrase), we must be cautious in interpreting these comparisons. Nevertheless, these observations agree with results of studies by Poulisse, Bongaerts and Kellerman (1984) and by Paribakht (1985). In both case, less proficient learners used more native language strategies and more proficient learners used more target language strategies.

Discussion

Looking at the results of this study in terms of the literature on avoidance as a communication strategy, it is worth considering whether what is occurring here in the cases where idioms were not used is avoidance in the same sense as the term has been used in the literature. Blum and Levenston 91978) divide avoidance into two types: apparent avoidance and true avoidance. True avoidance presupposes choice; in other words, the learner knows the word or form being avoided, at least passively, but chooses not to use it for some reason. Apparent avoidance is caused by lack of vocabulary; the learner simply does not know the lexical item, in this case, the idiom. It is impossible to tell from the data whether the idioms which were avoided in this study were not known, or were not used because the subjects were not sure of their form or their meaning. It is most likely that both are true in different cases, but there is no way of knowing which it is in any particular case. It would be interesting to go back and ask the subjects about the meanings of the idioms they avoided, in order to see whether they knew them at least passively. Another possibility would be to have them tape record a running commentary on the strategies they are using as they translate. One subject did provide some insight into why certain idioms were used or not, by including comments with his translations. For example, he stated that he knew the idiom

between a rock and a hard place, but it sounded too formal for the context; hit the nail on the head sounded "dated and corny", but he used it because he couldn't think of any other translation. Playing with fire was also considered corny, although it was used. He thought that a literal translation of poner las cartas sobre la mesa ("to put the cards on the table") was possible but inappropriate, and he couldn't think of an equivalent for me lavo las manos de Uds. ("I wash my hands of you"), so he omitted it. This kind of data would have been useful from all subjects.

In cases where avoidance is due to lack of knowledge of the appropriate word or structure, other strategies must be used to "fill the semantic gap" (Blum and Levenston 1978, p. 401). These may be avoidance strategies, transfer, or paraphrase. Avoidance strategies are generally subdivided into topic avoidance and message abandonment. As defined by Tarone (1977, p. 198), topic avoidance "occurs when the learner simply does not talk about concepts for which the vocabulary is not known." In this study, it could be said that topic avoidance occurred when subjects made no attempt to translate the paragraph (1.1% of cases). Message abandonment "occurs when the learner begins to talk about a concept but is unable to continue and begins a new sentence" (Tarone 1977, p. 198). Message abandoment might have occurred in this study when subjects left a blank in a translation (2.1% of cases).

There are several subcategories of transfer stragegies; the only one seen in this study is literal translation, defined by Tarone as translating an equivalent expression word for word (1977, p. 198). This occurred when an incorrect form of an idiom was due to translation from Spanish (2.7% of cases).

The correct non-idiomatic phrases, both literal and

figurative, which comprise the largest category of alternatives to using idioms (27%), might be considered as instances of paraphrase. Tarone defines paraphrase as "the rewording of the message in an alternate, acceptable target language construction, in situations where the appropriate form or construction is not known or not yet stable" (1977, p. 198). While this definition appears to apply to the examples in my data, none of Tarone's sub-categories of paraphrase is appropriate. There are no examples of approximation ("the use of a single target language vocabulary item or structure, which the learner knows is not correct, but which shares enough semantic features in common with the desired item to satisfy the learner"), word coinage ("the learner makes up a new word in order to communicate a desired concept"), or circumlocution ("the learner describes the characteristics or elements of the object or action instead of using the appropriate target language structure"). (All definitions are from Tarone 1977, p. 198).

It appears that the terms avoidance and paraphrase, as defined in the literature on communication strategies, do not apply to what the subjects in this study are doing. The explanation for this lies in the definition of communication strategy. According to Tarone (1981), communication stragegies occur when speakers desire to communicate a certain meaning, but believe that they lack the linguistic or sociolinguistic structure to do so; they then either avoid communicating that meaning or attempt alternate means of doing so. In the case of idioms, the same meaning can always be expressed non-idiomatically. Because there is already an alternate, literal means of expressing the same meaning, no communication strategy need be employed. Therefore, when we refer to avoidance or paraphrase in the use of

idioms, we must be sure that we make it clear that we are not referring to communication strategies.

Implications for Teaching

This study has several implications for teaching idioms. It is obvious that both the advanced second language learners of my previous study and the fluent bilinguals of this study used their knowledge of idioms in Spanish to produce equivalent idioms in English. This means that whenever possible, we should teach idioms which have identical equivalents in the native language. It is also impportant to make learners aware of sources of interference in idioms which are very similar in the two languages. Students will need extra practice to learn to produce similar idioms correctly. These two things are easier to do in bilingual or foreign language settings than they are in heterogeneous ESL settings, but even then it is possible to have students make the comparisons between first and second language idioms themselves.

Teaching your students strategies for dealing with figurative language will help them to take advantage of the semantic transparency of some idioms. If they can figure out the meaning of an idiom by themselves, they will have a link from the idiomatic meaning to the literal words which will help them learn the idiom.

It would not seem to be important to try to teach idioms which are the most frequently used, since there was no correlation in this study between idioms known and their frequency of use. However, it would make sense to teach those idioms which the students want to learn. This can be done by having them keep notebooks containing idiomse which they encounter outside of class, and using these idioms in teaching activities. You can

also maintainan idiom bulletin board where you and the students post examples of idioms found in newspapers and other places; advertising and comic strips are especially good sources. Irujo (1986a) contains many practical suggestions for teaching idioms.

The lack of avoidance of idioms by these fluent bilingual subjects may have something to do with the fact that idioms really can't be avoided in our language and our society. When a phrase such as "the government of Guam says that Marcos only wanted to hit the sack" appears on a nationally televised evening news report, I think it is apparent that this is something we have to expose our students to as much as possible. Some people will say that it's enough just to teach students to recognize idioms; I think that we must also help them to produce idioms correctly. Students are probably going to try to use idioms; we should teach them as much as we can so they will be able to use them as correctly as possible. During a recent seminar for ESL teachers at a major university on the East coast, the presenter, who was not a native speaker of English, uttered the following sentence, "This city really takes the icing!" Let's help our students avoid mix-ups like that, without having to steer clear of idioms entirely.

SCORING CATEGORIES, PERCENTAGE OF OCCURRENCES, AND EXAMPLES

Category	Per cent	Example
correct idiom	59.1	
same	45.7	"the black sheep of the family", "put your leg in your mouth", "pull someone's leg"
different	13.4	"he's losing his marbles", when "he has a screw loose" was expected
incorrect idiom	7.7	
form	4.8	translation from L1: "killing two birds with one shot"; confusion of L2: "sleep over it", "my hands are tight"
meaning	2.9	"hit the spot" instead of "hit the nail on the head"
correct non-idiom	27.0	
literal	18.3	"die" for "kick the bucket"; "felt very relieved" for "took a load off his mind"
figurative	8.7	"scream his head off" for "throw a fit"
incorrect non-idiom	1.8	
form	0.4	"crash" for "cram" ("burn the midnight oil" was expected); "caught you with your hands in the act" ("caught you red-handed" was expected)
meaning	1.4	"celebrate it" for "make a killing"
nothing	4.4	
omitted	1.2	complete meaning of paragraph provided without directly translating the idiom
blank	2.1	rest of the paragraph translated; blank where the idiom should be
no translation	1.1	no translation attempted for any part of the paragraph

IDIOMS, SCORING CATEGORIES, AND NUMBER OF OCCURRENCES

	Idioms				Non-idioms				Nothing		
	Same	Diff	Form	Mean	Lit.	Fig.	Form	Mean	Omit	Blank	None
Identical Idioms											
point of view	5				2	2			3		
black sheep of the family	12										
stick your nose in	4	2			2	3				1	
all ears	11				1						
on the tip of my tongue	11					1					
play with fire	10				1	2					
in charge	12										
break the ice	12										
vicious circle	10		1							1	
open your eyes	8				1	1		1	1		
put my cards on the table	2	3	3		2	1					1
my hands are tied	10		1		1						
run the risk	7	4			1						
wash my hands of it	6	1		1					1	3	
a needle in a haystack	12										
	132	10	5	1	11	10	0	1	5	5	1
Similar Idioms											
lend a hand	9	3			2						
the coast is clear	6				6						
put your foot in your mouth	5	2			2	1		1		1	
kill 2 birds with 1 stone	8		3		1						
cost an arm and a leg	5	2			3	2					
hit the nail on the head	6			1	3	4				1	
my back is to the wall	1	5	3		2	1				1	
take a load off your mind	6				6						
hold your tongue	6	1	1		4					1	
he has a screw loose	5	2	3	1				1			
catch red-handed	6				1	2	1		2		
can't make heads or tails	2	4	3		1	2					
burn the midnight oil	1		1		7	1	1				1
swallow the bait	5	2			1	4					
come hell or high water	3				5	3		1			
	84	21	14	2	44	20	2	3	2	4	1
Different Idioms											
sleep on it	5	3	3							1	
he's pulling your leg	7	1			4						
put 2 and 2 together	3			5	2	1		1			
I'm fed up	1	8		1	2						
kick the bucket	6	1			6						
go along with the crowd	3	1			7	2					
have a free hand	2	1			7					1	1
keep me posted	3	8			2						
what's eating you?	2	3	3		4						
make a killing	1	2		3	1	2		2			1
throw a fit	4	2			2	4					
take the cake	1				6	4					1
take the rap	2		2	1		5				1	1
stick to your guns	1	7		3	1			1			
put something over on		7			4	1					
	41	44	8	13	48	19	0	4	0	3	4
Totals	257	75	27	16	103	49	2	8	7	12	6

TABLE 2

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